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AUTHOR Yildirim, Ali
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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to investigate sex role influences on Turkish adolescents' self-identity process as part of an international self-identity research project. Specifically, the purpose of this study was to examine the role gender plays in the value systems of Turkish adolescents through a questionnaire. A total of 154 male and 119 female adolescents mainly at age 14 through 17 from urban and rural areas of Turkey were surveyed. In Turkish society, where women's social status is inferior to that of men, the segregation of the sexes strongly reinforces traditional sex role expectations among Turkish adolescents. The results indicated that "family" was the dominant source of belongingness for both males and females, followed by "friendships" and "school." Friendships and education were valued more by females than by males. Symbolic things, like relationships and happiness, influenced females' self-identity more than males', while males tended to place a greater importance on material items such as house, television, and sports equipment, than did females. Sports and athletic activities were highly important in males' self-validation process, while females were oriented more toward artistic and creative activities. General affective attributes like honesty, respect, or thoughtfulness were somewhat equally valued by males and females as important criteria for self-evaluation. Finally, males were more religious, patriotic, and felt stronger ties to ancestors, while females appeared to be more altruistic and placed a high importance on social relationships. Females were dependent on non-physical attributes in evaluating themselves, while males emphasized physical attributes as important sources of self-validation. (DK)

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Sex-Role Influences on Turkish Adolescents' Self-Identity

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ALI YILDIRIM

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Ali Yildirim

Teachers College, Columbia University
New York

Paper Presented at the Annual Conference of American Educational Research Association
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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to investigate sex role influences on Turkish adolescents' self-identity process as part of an International Self Identity Research Project. A total of 154 male and 119 female adolescents mainly at age 14 through 17 from urban and rural areas of Turkey were surveyed through a questionnaire. The results indicated that "family" was the dominant source of belongingness for both males and females, followed by "friendships" and "school." Friendships and education were valued more by females than males. Symbolic things (e.g., relationships, happiness) influenced females' self identity more than males while males tended to place a greater importance on material items (e.g., home, TV, sports equipment) than females. Sports and athletic activities were highly important in males' self validation process while females were oriented more toward artistic and creative activities. General affective attributes (e.g., honesty, respect, thoughtfulness) were somewhat equally valued by males and females as important criteria for self evaluation. Finally, males were more religious, patriotic and felt stronger ties to ancestors while females appeared to be more altruistic and placed a high importance on social relations.

Theoretical Background

This study is one of a series of cross-cultural studies comprising the ISIRT (International Self Identity Research Team) project designed to investigate self-identity process in adolescents in a variety of cultures. Specifically, the purpose of this paper is to examine the role gender plays in the value systems of Turkish adolescents through a questionnaire. Although boys and girls share many common values, it was expected that they go through different self-validation processes as a result of culturally defined sex-role attitudes and practices. While several studies have been conducted on sex-role differences in the Turkish population, to the researcher's knowledge, there have been no studies on sex-role influences on adolescent self-identity.

In Turkish society, where woman's social status is inferior to that of man, the segregation of the sexes strongly reinforces traditional sex role expectations among Turkish adolescents. Especially in rural areas, lack of sharing between males and females and same-sex friendship contribute to the separation of sexes. In terms of their behaviors and roles, girls are, by and large, subject to more strict social control than boys. While the former spend most of their spare time in their home environment, the latter do so outside with peers. This continues into adulthood where the wife is of lower status than the husband. The male usually makes decisions in the family and displays a low level of communication with his spouse (Kagitcibasi, 1977; 1987a).

Turkish girls show a strong identification with their mothers and the mothers' traditional sex role attitudes (Kagitcibasi,

1982). They are more likely to display low levels of educational attainment particularly in rural areas where traditional sex roles are perceived more strongly (Erkut, 1982). Girls are generally less active, and less likely to pursue higher education. In comparison boys appear to be less traditional in their sex role attitudes.

Studies have indicated that even a university education did not fundamentally change women's traditional perceptions of sex roles. In one study (Kandiyoti, 1987), women who had graduated from the university were asked what attributes they considered a "successful" women to possess. Most defined a successful woman as "a good spouse and mother," indicating a traditional female role perception. In addition, Kandiyoti noted that male perceptions of female roles have also stayed largely unchanged in spite of the increasing participation of women in education and in the labor force. So, to this day, the traditional differences in sex role behaviors continue without much change in Turkish society.

This study attempted to examine significant sources of self-identity for male and female adolescents. There is a general concern about the lack of interest of young females in education, in participation in the work force and in sports. Therefore, it is important to understand the differences and similarities in males' and females' self-validation processes in order to communicate with them and respond to their needs in a more effective way. Understanding the sex differences in the value systems of adolescents may also help us in understanding the social and family structure in Turkish society.

Method

Subjects

A total of 154 male and 119 female public high school students from Turkey were asked to complete the questionnaire. Students in these schools are mostly from lower-middle and middle-level socioeconomic backgrounds. The sample included students from urban cities (Ankara, Istanbul and Eskisehir) (69%) and rural areas (south and south-eastern regions) (31%). Nearly 94% of the students surveyed fell into the 14-17 year age range. The average age was 15.28 years. Two-fifths (60%) were at 9th grade level, close to one-third (31%) were at 10th grade and 9% were at 11th grade (last year of high school). Only a very small percentage of students (5%) had part-time jobs. Not working is the usual pattern for students of this age group. Among the fathers, close to half (49%) had only an elementary school education, 17% had completed middle school, 19% were high school graduates, and 12% had a university education. Of the fathers, 68% held blue collar jobs, 28% held middle-level white collar jobs, only 4% held upper middle or upper white collar jobs. The majority of mothers (64%) had an elementary school education only. Only 9% had graduated from middle school, 13% from high school and only 2% had a university education. The large majority of mothers (89%) were housewives.

The above characteristics present a general picture of Turkish family structure and the status of males and females. Women are disadvantaged and dependent upon their spouses economically. Compared to fathers, mothers' low level of education and participation in the labor force has significant implications for

sex-role differences in adolescents' self validation processes in Turkey.

Questionnaire

The survey was a self-report questionnaire. It consisted of background questions and questions on (1) most important persons, (2) most valued possessions, (3) most important activities and reasons for those choices, (4) the characteristics adolescents liked about themselves, (5) how they wanted to be remembered, (6) the most important groups or places to which they belong and reasons, (7) life aspirations and (8) what they believe others value about them. All questions, except 6, were open-ended, and students were given three lines to write in their responses in order of importance to them. Question 6 included a list of most important groups and places for respondents to choose from, and they were given five lines to list their choices. This paper focused on questions 2, 3, 4, 6. These questions were selected because they reflected the sources of adolescents' sense of belonging and identity, a hierarchy of life contexts in which their sense of self may be cultivated, criteria for and sources of adolescents' self evaluation.

The questionnaire was translated from English into Turkish by the researcher. Then the Turkish version was back-translated into English by a Turkish-English instructor who has a Ph.D. in English Literature and linguistics. The translation was very close to the original English version. Small discrepancies between the original questionnaire and the back-translated version were resolved by

discussions between the researcher and the back-translator. Where appropriate, adaptations to the Turkish culture were made with respect to background questions about religion, ethnic background, marital status, and language spoken at home and school.

Intercoder Reliability

The intercoder reliability was established among the researcher and two other ISIRT team members. We coded 10 questionnaires individually using the codebook prepared for the self-identify research by ISIRT. Then we compared the results and counted the number of disagreements on responses to each question in the questionnaire. Based on the total number of agreements, we calculated an intercoder reliability score for each question. The average was .88, which showed that there was a strong agreement between the researcher and the other two researchers in the coding of the questionnaires.

Data Analysis

Descriptive and non-parametic statistics were used to analyze the data. Categorical percentages were used to describe the data and crosstabulations were used to determine whether there were any differences between male and female subjects using chi-square test as a measure of significance.

Results and Discussion

Sources of Belonging and Identity

Belongingness was assessed by the question on most important groups or places adolescents belonged to (Table 1). Respondents

were given 15 groups or places to select and were asked to give reasons for their selections. As the table displays, male and female adolescents did not show significant differences in their first selection ($p>.5$).

Table 1

Most Important Groups or Places

	Male %	Female %
FIRST SELECTION	**N=151**	**N=119**
Family	73.5	78.2
Religious figures or places (e.g, god, heaven)	12.5	10.0
School	4.0	4.2
Friends	4.0	3.4
Others	6.0	4.2
$X^2(4, N=270)=1.02, p=.90607$		
SECOND SELECTION	**N=150**	**N=119**
School	26.7	44.5
Friends	13.3	21.0
Family	14.0	14.3
Religious figures or places (e.g, god, heaven)	18.0	7.6
Country	12.7	7.6
Others	15.3	5.0
$X^2(5, N=269)=22.05, p=.00051$		
THIRD SELECTION	**N=146**	**N=114**
Friends	17.1	33.3
School	13.0	18.4
Religious figures or places (e.g, god, heaven)	17.8	8.8
Athletic team	12.3	6.1
City they live in or place they grew up	6.8	11.4
Country	11.6	5.3
Ancestors	9.6	5.3
Family	4.8	5.3
Nature/earth or universe	4.8	3.5
Others	2.1	2.6
$X^2(9, N=260)=20.86, p=.01329$		

In this table and the following ones, responses are ordered according to the number of responses in each selection. 'N' varies due to missing data.

As expected, a large majority of both groups mentioned "family" as the most important group they belonged to, reflecting close ties to their families. "Religious figures or places" (e.g., god, heaven, mosque), "school" and "close friends" were indicated by a minority of respondents as the most important group or place in their lives.

The second and third important groups or places adolescents indicated were more diverse and related to sex significantly ($p<.001$ and .05, respectively). As seen in both selections, females indicated school more than males. One reason for females' attachment to school might be that they see education as a mean of increasing their social status or as an "upward mobilizer." This result is consistent with Erkut's (1987) inding that women who manage to go beyond elementary school show greater persistence and success.

Friendship was valued more by females. In both second and third selections, females stressed "friendship" more than males. This might be due to the different socialization environment they have. Usually, hard work and competitiveness are encouraged more in males than females. These expectations create a social environment for males in which they feel they have to prove themselves. However, females are oriented more toward social relations as indicated in their emphasis on friendship. Therefore, friendships established at school and/or in the neighborhood are important sources of their socialization process.

Both in the second and third selections, males valued "religious figures or places" (e.g., god, heaven, mosque), and

"country" more. Males' greater emphasis on god, religion or mosque is plausible since religious values are reinforced more with males than females through the father taking them to the mosque or sending them to religious teachings during the summer when school is closed, especially in rural areas. The mother imparts some religious values to females at home though the training and expectations are not as strict as they are for males. Males also appeared to be more patriotic or nationalistic than females as reflected in their greater emphasis on country.

As the third selections indicated, males chose "athletic team" and "ancestors" as important groups they belonged to. Generally, males are oriented toward sports and athletic activities more than females. For them, being in a soccer or volleyball team in which they play competitively is a source of social recognition among peers, contributing to their sense of self-worth and self-confidence.

Males' high regard for "ancestors" might be due to the need for the "continuation of family name" instilled in them through tradition (Kagitcibasi, 1987b). Females, when they get married, are considered to have left the family, thus the value of "continuation of the family name" is not reinforced with them as much as it is with males.

Finally, in the third selection, females also emphasized "city they live in or place they grew up" more, reflecting a stronger attachment to their immediate social and physical environment.

Males and females did not differ in their indication of "family" and "nature, earth or the universe" as important groups and places they belonged to. The responses related to the

universe, nature or the earth expressed by a minority of the respondents might be a reflection of "transcultural self" (Ishiyama, 1991).

Adolescents were also asked to give reasons for their selection of most important groups or places to which they belonged (Table 2). Males' and females' reasons for first selection of most important group or place were only slightly different ($p>.05$). Males tended to emphasize "companionship" (e.g., being with family) more than females, while females stressed "feelings of security" more than males.

However, sex had a significant impact on reasons reported for the second most important group or place ($p<.01$). "Future academic or career preparation" and "social availability/ approachability" (e.g., being there for me, easy talk to) were mentioned more by females than males. These results, which were consistent with the findings discussed in Table 1, explained why females valued school and friendship. Males differed significantly from females in their emphasis on "religious/ spiritual" reasons and "positive feelings." The results on males' greater stress on religious reasons are plausible since they appeared to be more religious than females. Other reasons were not significantly different across sexes.

The differences between males and females in their responses as reasons for the third important group or place selection were not significant ($p>.05$). However, the differences on emphasis on "religious/spiritual," "future academic/career preparation" and "social availability" appeared to persist in this selection as well.

Table 2

Reasons for Selecting Most Important Groups or Places

	Male %	Female %
REASONS FOR FIRST GROUP OR PLACE SELECTION	**N=141**	**N=116**
Companionship (e.g., being with family)	44.7	37.1
Feelings of security, comfort, support	22.7	30.2
Future academic/career preparation	12.1	9.5
Other reasons	20.7	23.3
$X^2(3, N=257)=2.86, p=.41368$		
REASONS FOR SECOND GROUP OR PLACE SELECTION	**N=139**	**N=114**
Future academic/career preparation	12.9	23.7
Feelings of security, comfort, support	14.4	10.5
Religious/spiritual (e.g, being close to god)	15.8	6.1
Social enjoyment (e.g., meeting people)	9.4	12.3
Positive feelings (e.g., fun, excitement, liking)	14.4	6.1
Sense of belonging	9.4	6.1
Social availability (e.g., being there for me)	2.9	12.3
Companionship (e.g., being with family)	5.0	6.1
Self-education (e.g., learning new things)	6.5	4.4
Other reasons	9.4	12.3
$X^2(9, N=253)=24.16, p=.00406$		
REASONS FOR THIRD GROUP OR PLACE SELECTION	**N=128**	**N=107**
Positive feelings (e.g., fun, excitement, liking)	18.8	17.8
Social enjoyment (e.g., meeting people)	13.3	20.6
Religious/spiritual (e.g, being close to god)	18.8	8.4
Future academic/career preparation	7.8	12.1
Social availability (e.g., being there for me)	5.5	14.0
Sense of belonging	8.6	6.5
Feelings of security, comfort, support	9.4	5.6
Self-education (e.g., learning new things)	3.9	4.7
Companionship (e.g., being with family)	2.3	1.9
Other reasons	11.7	8.4
$X^2(9, N=235)=14.17, p=.11653$		

Hierarchy of Life Contexts/Self Validating Possessions and Activities

A hierarchy of life contexts contributing to adolescents' self-concept was assessed by two questions. The first focused on the possessions on which adolescents place a high value (Table 3).

Table 3

Most Important Possessions

	Male %	Female %
FIRST SELECTION	N=152	N=119
SYMBOLIC/NON-MATERIALISTIC ITEMS	80.9	94.1
Relationship to family	42.1	64.7
Relationship to friends	5.3	3.4
Psychological qualities (e.g, happiness, feelings)	13.8	13.4
Personal accomplishments (e.g., awards, writings)	4.6	3.4
Religion	5.3	2.5
Other symbolic things	9.9	6.7
MATERIAL ITEMS (e.g., TV, stereo)	19.1	5.9
$X^2(6, N=271)=18.12, p=.00593$		
SECOND SELECTION	N=151	N=119
SYMBOLIC/NON-MATERIALISTIC ITEMS	72.2	87.4
Relationship to family	17.9	16.0
Relationship to friends	17.9	30.3
Psychological qualities (e.g, happiness, feelings)	12.6	10.1
Personal accomplishments (e.g., awards, writings)	6.6	8.4
School	4.6	12.6
Physical well-being/health	7.3	5.0
Other symbolic things	5.3	5.0
MATERIAL ITEMS (e.g., TV, stereo)	27.8	12.5
$X^2(7, N=270)=18.18, p=.01120$		
THIRD SELECTION	N=146	N=110
SYMBOLIC/NON-MATERIALISTIC ITEMS	73.3	86.5
Relationship to family	14.4	13.6
Relationship to friends	11.6	35.5
Psychological qualities (e.g, happiness, feelings)	10.3	8.2
Personal accomplishments (e.g., awards, writings)	6.2	9.1
School	12.3	6.4
Physical well-being/health	4.1	5.5
Other symbolic things	14.4	8.2
MATERIAL ITEMS (e.g., TV, stereo)	26.7	13.6
$X^2(7, N=256)=26.97, p=.00029$		

In general, adolescents placed a greater importance on "symbolic items" (e.g., having a family, friend, religion) than "material items" (e.g., TV, stereo) across all three selections. However, females tended to value symbolic items more than males while males emphasized material items more than females. One

reason for this result might be that males possess more materialistic items (e.g., stereo, camera, bicycle) than females and/or have more time and freedom to use them. These differences show that materialistic items, though not as much as symbolic ones, contribute significantly to males' self validation process, while for females, the contribution of material items is very limited. Rather, symbolic things largely account for significant sources of females' self validation.

Males and females differed significantly in their first selection of most important possessions at the .01 level. Females stressed "family" more, implying a higher significance of family in their self validation process. Although the percentages were small, sex difference with regard to valuing religion was also apparent here. Being a good Muslim was valued more by males than females. Other symbolic items, such as "psychological qualities" (e.g., happiness, humor, feelings, self-respect), "friends," and "personal accomplishments" (e.g., degrees, prizes, writings) were valued by both groups somewhat equally.

In the second 'most important possession selection,' again, significant sex differences with regard to valuing friendship and school were found ($p<.05$). Females valued both friends and school more than males. In the third selection, again, friends were mentioned as important possessions by females more. School, on the other hand, was indicated more by males this time, implying that males, too, valued school even though its place was lower in their hierarchy of life contexts. The differences in the third selection were significant at the .001 level.

Psychological qualities (e.g., happiness, feelings), personal accomplishments (e.g., awards, writings) and physical well-being, health were somewhat equally valued by both groups in all three selections.

The responses to the question on most important activities provided additional data on sources of adolescents' self validation processes (Table 4).

Table 4

Most Important Activities

	Male %	Female %
FIRST SELECTION	**N=150**	**N=117**
Education (e.g., learning, career development)	28.7	40.2
Athletic/physical activities (e.g., swimming, camping)	41.3	20.5
Entertainment/hobbies/artistic activities (e.g, watching TV, listening to music, reading)	16.0	26.5
Socializing with family	4.0	4.3
Socializing with friends	1.3	3.4
Other activities	8.7	5.1
$X^2(5, N=267)=17.38, p=.00383$		
SECOND SELECTION	**N=140**	**N=113**
Entertainment/hobbies/artistic activities (e.g, watching TV, listening to music, reading	30.0	46.0
Athletic/physical activities (e.g., swimming, camping)	30.0	15.9
Education (e.g., learning, career development)	16.4	18.6
Socializing with friends	5.0	13.3
Socializing with family	7.1	3.5
Other activities	11.5	2.7
$X^2(5, N=253)=22.50, p=.00042$		
THIRD SELECTION	**N=124**	**N=102**
Entertainment/hobbies/artistic activities (e.g, watching TV, listening to music, reading	33.1	45.1
Athletic/physical activities (e.g., swimming, camping)	23.4	11.8
Education (e.g., learning, career development)	9.7	10.8
Socializing with friends	12.9	17.6
Socializing with family	4.8	3.9
Other activities	16.1	10.8
$X^2(5, N=226)=8.45, p=.13318$		

As seen in the table, in all three selections, females placed a higher importance on "education," "entertainment/hobbies/artistic activities" and "socializing with friends" while males saw "athletic and physical activities" as most important for themselves. The difference in valuing education-related activities (e.g., learning, career development) was strongest in the first choice while the gap decreased in the second and third selections. However the differences with regard to entertainment/hobbies/ artistic activities and socializing with friends were clear in all three selections. Males, on the other hand, differed significantly from females in valuing athletic and physical activities in all three choices. The differences were significant at the .01 in the first choice, and .001 in the second choice. The differences in the third selection were not significant ($p>.05$).

The responses on "education," "athletic/physical activities" and "socializing with friends" replicated the sex differences on these issues previously discussed in the section on sources of belonging. Males' emphasis on athletic activities might be due to the need to display their physical strength and skills. Among peers, achievement in sports may be linked to prestige for males. On the other hand, such prestige may not be as important for females. They are oriented more toward entertainment-related or artistic activities, which are not necessarily competitive and reflect mostly home or school-related activities. These results mirror sharp differences between males and females with regard to the life contexts in which their self is validated. As females'

identity becomes home- or school-oriented, males validate their identity through activities directed away from home.

Adolescents were also asked to give their reasons for selecting most important activities (Table 5).

Table 5

Reasons for Selecting Most Important Activities

	Male %	Female %
REASONS FOR FIRST ACTIVITY SELECTION	N=145	N=114
Personal well-being (e.g., positive feelings, relaxing)	53.8	54.4
Future academic/career preparation	18.6	22.8
Social well-being (e.g., companionship, support)	5.5	14.0
Physical well-being (e.g., fitness, looking good)	13.8	4.4
Other reasons	8.3	4.4
$X^2(4, N=259)=12.87, p=.01193$		
REASONS FOR SECOND ACTIVITY SELECTION	N=135	N=107
Personal well-being (e.g., positive feelings, relaxing)	54.8	69.2
Social well-being (e.g., companionship, support)	13.3	13.1
Physical well-being (e.g., fitness, looking good)	13.3	8.4
Future academic/career preparation	7.4	6.5
Other reasons	11.1	2.8
$X^2(4, N=242)=8.91, p=.06341$		
REASONS FOR THIRD ACTIVITY SELECTION	N=121	N=96
Personal well-being (e.g., positive feelings, relaxing)	66.1	58.3
Social well-being (e.g., companionship, support)	14.9	22.9
Physical well-being (e.g., fitness, looking good)	7.4	5.2
Future academic/career preparation	3.3	4.2
Other reasons	8.3	9.4
$X^2(4, N=217)=2.99, p=.55945$		

Sex was significantly related to the reasons indicated for the first activity selection at the .05 level. In this category, both "personal well-being" and "future academic/career preparation" were emphasized by an almost equal percentage of males and females. However, males and females differed in their emphasis on reasons

related to physical and social well-being. Males stressed reasons related to physical well-being (e.g., fitness, looking good) while females emphasized social well-being (e.g., social enjoyment, social praise). These results are in line with the findings discussed in Table 4.

The reasons reported by respondents for the second and third important activity selection were not significantly related to sex ($P>.05$). However, similar differences on reasons related to physical well being in the second selection and social well-being in the third selection were found.

Sources of Adolescents' Self-Evaluation

The data collected through the question on characteristics adolescents like about themselves provided information on sources of adolescents' self-evaluation (Table 6). In all three selections, significant sex differences were found (in order, $p<.01$, .05, .05). In general, females valued their "personal attributes" and "non-physical talents or abilities" more than males while males valued their "physical attributes or talents" more than females. The difference with regard to personal and physical attributes were found in all three selections while the differences on valuing non-physical attributes was found only in the first response category.

Specifically, in the first choice, females differed significantly from males in their emphasis on "altruistic attributes" (e.g., helping other people) and "social/communication skills" while males stressed "cognitive attributes" (e.g., being smart). The greater emphasis on altruistic attributes and social skills were also shown in females'

responses in the second and third most important characteristic selections.

Table 6

Most Important Characteristics Adolescents Like About Themselves

	Male %	Female %
FIRST SELECTION	**N=148**	**N=116**
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES	65.5	70.7
General affective attributes (e.g., honesty, happiness)	39.2	37.1
Role fulfillment (e.g., being a good child)	7.4	9.5
Altruistic attributes (e.g., caring, helpful, loving)	5.4	12.9
Cognitive attributes (e.g., smart)	5.4	2.6
Other personal attributes	8.1	8.6
NON-PHYSICAL TALENTS/ABILITIES	18.3	26.7
School-related achievement (e.g., good grades, awards)	14.2	13.8
Social/communication skills (e.g., being a good listener)	2.7	9.5
Other non-physical abilities	1.4	3.4
PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES/ABILITIES (e.g. good looking, fitness)	16.2	2.6
$X^2(8, N=264)=24.23, p=.00209$		
SECOND SELECTION	**N=144**	**N=113**
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES	61.8	73.5
General affective attributes (e.g., honesty, happiness)	29.9	38.1
Role fulfillment (e.g., being a good child)	11.1	9.7
Altruistic attributes (e.g., caring, helpful, loving)	6.9	12.4
Positive work habits	3.5	6.2
Other personal attributes	10.4	7.1
NON-PHYSICAL TALENTS/ABILITIES	25.0	23.9
School-related achievement (e.g., good grades, awards)	11.1	6.2
Social/communication skills (e.g., being a good listener)	7.6	15.0
Other non-physical abilities	6.3	2.7
PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES/ABILITIES (e.g. good looking, fitness)	13.2	2.7
$X^2(8, N=257)=20.05, p=.01014$		
THIRD SELECTION	**N=135**	**N=107**
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES	56.3	70.9
General affective attributes (e.g., honesty, happiness)	26.7	40.2
Role fulfillment (e.g., being a good child)	9.6	9.3
Altruistic attributes (e.g., caring, helpful, loving)	8.1	12.1
Other personal attributes	11.9	9.3
NON-PHYSICAL TALENTS/ABILITIES	23.7	20.5
School-related achievement (e.g., good grades, awards)	9.6	8.4
Social/communication skills (e.g., being a good listener)	10.4	6.5
Other non-physical abilities	3.7	5.6
PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES/ABILITIES (e.g. good looking, fitness)	17.0	3.7
$X^2(7, N=242)=16.17, p=.03997$		

Although both groups equally stressed "general affective attributes" (e.g., honesty, happiness, thoughtfulness) in the first choice, females emphasized them more in the second and third selections, indicating the higher significance of affective attributes in their self evaluation process. Social skills and positive work habits were emphasized more by females in the second selection while males stressed social skills more in the third selection. School-related achievement was emphasized by males more in the second choice while no difference was found in the first and third selections. Finally, role fulfillment was stressed equally by both groups in all response categories.

Conclusions

The ISIRT study of the Turkish adolescents has shown both similarities and differences in factors that influence male and female adolescents' self identity processes. Specifically, it has been found that family is the dominant source of belongingness for both males and females. Significant differences were found between males and females with regard to secondary level belongingness. Females appear to value their friendships and school than males, indicating a greater significance of interpersonal relations and value of education for them. Athletic team, religion, feelings of patriotism or nationalism and relation to ancestors are among the significant sources of belongingness for males but not for females.

Females are more symbolic than males in their self identity process. They value their psychological qualities, relations to loved ones and friends and success in school rather than

materialistic possessions such as stereo, TV or home. Males also are predominantly symbolic, however, compared to females, they are more inclined to value materialistic items, indicating that materialistic items play a more important role in males' self-validation process than in that of females.

Males are oriented toward more athletic and physical activities while females are more inclined to be interested in entertainment-related or artistic activities or hobbies such as writing, reading and sewing which are more domestic-oriented. Females also value their friendships and social skills more than males do because they emphasize their social well-being while males value their physical well-being more. Males' greater emphasis on athletic and physical activities indicate that these activities contribute a great deal to their transition to manhood.

Finally, females are dependent on personal (e.g., honesty, happiness, altruism) and non-physical attributes (e.g., education, social relations) in evaluating themselves while males emphasize, in addition to personal and non-physical attributes, physical attributes (e.g., good looking, fitness) as important sources of self validation.

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